(3.)

THE SPEECH

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES JAMES FOX,

At a GENERAL MEETING of the

ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER,

Assembled in

WESTMINSTER-HALL,

July 17, 1782,

In which are accurately given the Reasons for withdrawing himself from the Cabinet.

TAKEN IN SHORT-HAND BY

W. BLANCHARD,

Of Dean-Street, Fetter-Lane.

DUBLIN:

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MDCCLXXXII.

MAY

THE

SPEECH, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

I CANNOT receive the repeated teſtimonies of approbation which you have this day expreſſed towards me, without again wiſhing to repeat the ſincere pleaſure I feel from your kindneſs, and the gratitude with which it inſpires me. I ſhould, perhaps have ſaid a few words earlier on the buſineſs alluded to by my worthy friend, if it had not been intimated to me that there were perſons here diſſatisfied with my conduct in Parliament, diſſatisfied with my conduct as a miniſter, who intended to avail themſelves of this occaſion to expreſs their diſapprobation, and publicly to ſtate the cau es and the reaſons for it: always happy in giving thoſe perſons who think proper to condemn my conduct, an opportunity of the moſt public (the more public the better) and moſt open explanation of their ſentiments, I was willing to hear what they ſhould be diſpoſed to ſuggeſt againſt me, that I might have a fuller and

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more complete means of juſtification; for I am thoroughly conſcious that the more the charge againſt me is developed, the more ample and ſatisfactory will be my power of vindication. The worthy gentleman who ſpoke laſt, to whom I have ſo many obligations, and upon whoſe firſt ſuggeſtion I was originally recommended to the city of Weſtminſter has alluded to a petition which I had the honor to preſent to his Majeſty, and which was ſigned by four thouſand of the inhabitants of that city; I had certainly hoped that that petition, confirmed and ſtrengthened as it was by the ſeveral others which originated in different quarters of the kingdom, would have ultimately produced all the effects they prayed for. So long as I continued in Adminiſtration, you all had a right to expect that the object of thoſe petitions would be carefully promoted, and that its principle would be inviolably adhered to. Had it been otherwiſe, you would have had juſt reaſon to accuſe me of being an apoſtate to your cauſe, and a traitor to your intereſts. What will become of it now, it is not for me directly to preſage; but I hope, and moſt ſincerely wiſh, your petition will ſtill find a gracious reception from Parliament, and the honeſt ſupport of miniſters.

The worthy gentleman who preceded me, Dr. Jebb, who, if he has any faults in the world,

world, they are the faults of too much candour, and a too unſuſpecting honeſty, informs you, that you have ſtill the promiſes of Miniſters for the grounds of expectation that your petition will be attended to. He is willing to believe theſe promiſes. I am glad of it. I wiſh to ſhake no man's confidence: but I muſt be permitted to retain my own ſentiments, my own opinions. I I own I have ſuſpicions. I have long entertained ſuſpicions, as to the general political principles of your preſent Miniſter. When I became more immediately and thoroughly ſatisfied, that theſe ſuſpicions were not badly founded, I eſteemed it my duty to give a public indication of the ſtate of my opinions, and to hold out the ſignal to the world, by retiring from his Majeſty's ſervice. Gentlemen, Dr. Jebb has mentioned the names of ſeveral perſons from whom you have received promiſes upon the immediate object of your petition, as well as other matters of political magnitude. As to the firſt perſon he named, I mean the Duke of Richmond, he cannot be more happy, he cannot be more proud, in giving every tribute of applauſe to him than I ſhall always be. He and I may differ in opinion as to the fitneſs or expediency of the moment for retiring from his Majeſty's counſels, but we are unſhakenly united in our general principles, and in our fixed ſentiments

ments of popular queſtions.—We can never long differ, becauſe, though an accidental difference may have ariſen, as to what line of conduct might be proper or improper at this moment, I repeat it again, there is not, nor cannot be, a difference of principle between that noble Duke and me.—I revere the noble Duke's principles; and am never more happy than when I enjoy a public opportunity of giving every teſtimony of my eſteem and reſpect for him.—He is an honeſt man, an able man, and a perſevering one; though, in my opinion, miſtaken in his choice of conduct at the preſent period.—But there is this conſolation for you and me, that the noble Duke is not a man that will ſleep upon his poſt; and whenever he has the ſame reaſons to ſuſpect that I have, you may depend upon it he will not a moment continue a colleague of the preſent Adminiſtration.—Another noble perſon has been mentioned, as having made great promiſes:—I am not much uſed to truſt to that perſon's promiſes;—and for this reaſon, becauſe paſt experience has ſupplied me with no cauſe for truſting him:—quite the contrary—I attend to facts, not promiſes; and upon that criterion you will perhaps find little foundation for confidence in the noble perſon alluded to. The noble Earl, I mean the Earl of Shelburne, has repeatedly told the world he would never join any Miniſter

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that would grant independence to America: —he has ſaid, that in no circumſtances would he be induced to accede to ſo humiliating a meaſure; — that Britain's ſun was ſet for ever when that event ſhould take place.—When the noble Earl uſed this language, it was doubtleſs his intention to pay a compliment, and it muſt be acknowledged he did not addreſs his compliment ignorantly; he knew how and where to take his aim, and no doubt he has taken it effectually; now, however, that the noble Earl's object is in ſome meaſure attained; now, for mere political purpoſes, he recants the whole of his former doctrines, permanently and ſeriouſly eſtabliſhed as they had been, and makes no ſcruple to aſſert, that the grounds of his former declarations are gone, that he has relinquiſhed his opinion, and ſubſcribes now to a ſentiment which he had formerly profeſſed the moſt utter abhorrence of, an abhorrence ſo firmly rooted that no contingencies, no misfortunes, no humiliation, could induce him to overcome it. If an opinion ſo formed, and ſo avowed, could be relinquiſhed in a moment, you have reaſon to expect that his other opinions will not prove more ſincere nor more permanent. This is one grand, obvious reaſon for ſuſpicion, backed however by a thouſand others which have made an impreſſion on my mind, but which however I am not entirely

entirely at liberty to make uſe of here; but gentlemen, it is not by promiſes by which I am governed, by which this aſſembly or the world in general will be governed. Let us look to performances, and what circumſtance do you find not only amongſt recent occurrences, but in the whole hiſtory of the noble earl's political life, that can in the moſt remote degree tend to inſpire a confidence, eſtabliſhed upon that baſis? During the laſt adminiſtration, I will venture to ſay, you had ſomething better to look to than promiſes; the members, who now no longer form a part of it, not only promiſed but performed; before they came into office, they engaged to bring in a bill for diminiſhing the influence of the Crown; What they had engaged to do out of office, they performed in it—they engaged to bring in a bill of reform, and for the eſtabliſhment of general œconomy—they did ſo;—they had patronized the Contractor's bill, as tending to purify the popular repreſentation in Parliament—they brought it through all its ſtages, while in office, and made it a law;—and without any previous engagement, they did, what in my opinion is of as much, or more conſequence than all the reſt, they introduced the bill for the excluſion of Exciſe officers, &c. from the right of voting, which ſtruck more radically

cally and effectually at the corrupt influence of the Crown than any other meaſure whatever.—Not a day paſſed, but ſome effort was made to contribute to the grand objects of parliamentary purification and general reform; and the ſole uſe they made of the honor of ſerving his Majeſty was, to prove, by actual performances, that they had not betrayed the confidence of the people, by vague, hollow promiſes, which they had no intention to adhere to. I muſt requeſt you, therefore, to look to performances, and to them only.—I cannot deſire you, it would not be fair, to compare the *performances* of the late adminiſtration, with the *promiſes* of the preſent; but I do moſt anxiouſly deſire you to compare the performances of the laſt with the performances of the preſent.—I ſhall deſire no better compariſon—no fuller proof of the difference between us. I muſt beg you, in the mean time, not to be ſo far miſled by ſounding words, as to compare the actual works of one ſet of men with the mere verbal engagements of another.———To perform, requires, perhaps, more ſteadineſs, more conſiſtency, more ſincerity, than belongs to ſome men. To promiſe is eaſy; requires no reſolution, no ability, no integrity. But if I am required to be influenced by a man's declarations, it becomes me to look at his character upon the whole, to examine his declarations in the whole:

I muſt ſet his promiſes together, and aſk myſelf, what ought to be the general reſult? It was reported in the news-papers, and I have received a farther confirmation of it, through the medium of private friends, that the Earl of Shelburne, in his place in the Houſe of Lords, promiſed to promote a parliamentary reform; at the ſame time, however, that he makes this profeſſion, he intimated a deſign of reſtoring the obſolete and dangerous practice of giving the royal negative to bills which have received the conſent of two other parts of the legiſlature. What is this ſaying in effect? why ſimply this; "ſo long as the Parliament is what it is; "ſo long as it is corrupt enough to follow "my dictates" (provided the noble Earl ſhould find it ſo; but from ſome indications of honeſty which the preſent Parliament have given, I deem that to be doubtful) "ſo long as they echo my ſentiments, that "is, the ſentiments of the Miniſter, ſo "long I will by no means adviſe his Ma- "jeſty to exerciſe his negative. When the "Houſe of Commons acquieſce implicitly "in the wiſhes of the King, his Ma- "jeſty ſhall not interpoſe his prerogative againſt them; but as ſoon as they "ſhall be made an honeſt, independent "Houſe of Commons; when, by the re- "form that our late colleagues have com- "pelled us to adopt, the parliamentary re- "preſentation ſhall be rendered equal, ge-

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" neral, and virtuous, then it will be time " for me to revive the cuſtom of his Ma- " jeſty's negative; then it will be proper " to check the opinions of ſuch a Parlia- " ment, and to deviſe an expedient by " which their honeſt and conſtitutional " powers ſhall be rendered nugatory and " ineffectual. The time approaches when " the Houſe of Commons will become, in " fact, the repreſentation of the people, " and when their language will be the ge- " nuine voice of the people; but as ſuch " an event muſt neceſſarily prove of all " others the moſt unfortunate and hoſtile " to my adminiſtration, I will hit upon a " meaſure, by which the inconvenient vir- " tue of ſuch a repreſentation may be " made impotent and dangerleſs, and by " which I may preſerve my favourite max- " im of arbitrary prerogative, at the ſame " time that I cajole the multitude by a " ſpecious conceſſion to their wiſhes, and " an empty compliance, which can neither " benefit them nor injure me." Such are the gracious intentions of the preſent Mi- niſter—ſuch the means by which he ex- pects to eſtabliſh his popularity. But what honeſt man can be influenced by ſuch pro- feſſions—profeſſions ſo repugnant, ſo evi- dently hollow, and mutually contradictory? I have another criterion by which I judge of a man's ſincerity in any ſpecific inſtance; and that is, by conſidering his veracity in other

other caſes: now the Earl of Shelburne has affirmed in Parliament, that he knew no other reaſon for my reſignation but his appointment to the firſt ſeat at the Treaſury; I give you my word of honour, and pledge every thing that is dear to me upon the aſſertion, that there were other reaſons or my reſignation, and that thoſe reaſons were known to the Earl of Shelburne. Happily for me, however, this does not reſt upon my ſingle teſtimony: it reſts upon the evidence of the Duke of Richmond; it reſts upon the evidence of Lord Keppel, upon the evidence of General Conway, upon the evidence of that moſt upright and reſpected character, Lord John Cavendiſh, and upon the evidence of ſeveral other members of his Majeſty's cabinet, who have given the moſt concluſive teſtimony to the ſame purport by their ſilence. The fact is, that the day before the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, I did, in the moſt ſolemn, direct manner, declare my intention of reſignation in the Cabinet, notwithſtanding that the health of the Marquis of Rockingham was at that time underſtood to afford more flattering expectation than it had done ſome days preceding. That being the caſe, therefore, I am compelled to entertain ſome ſuſpicions of the noble Earl's veracity. But what does the noble Earl himſelf ſay upon this ſubject, when he was called upon for an explanation

tion on a ſubſequent day? Unfortunately there was a thin Houſe, but the fact is ſufficiently atteſted, ſo as to preclude the poſſibility of a doubt upon it. He ſaid, that he had not only heard me intimate ſomething like an intention to reſign on the day preceding Lord Rockingham's death, but *that he had often, on other days*, heard me expreſs the ſame inclination. He had ſaid, that he knew no reaſon in God's earth for my retiring from his Majeſty's ſervice, but that of his own appointment to the Treaſury; and yet, when he comes to his juſtification, he acknowledges that he and I had frequently differed in the Cabinet; not upon one or two points, but *frequently*; and that in conſequence of this difference, I had *often* expreſſed my purpoſe of reſignation. When I find a man diſagree ſo entirely with himſelf, I muſt doubt; I cannot help it; I cannot place an implicit confidence in his aſſertions, nor rely upon any of his promiſes. The noble Earl declared publicly, that a penſion, which had been granted to one of his friends, a great and enormous penſion, was originally thought of at the ſuggeſtion of the Marquis of Rockingham, and was, in fact, granted by him. He has himſelf ſince acknowledged, that this is *not true*, he has confeſſed that the penſion in queſtion originated in himſelf, as it naturally muſt, the object of the penſion being his particular friend. I

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do not wiſh to load this part of the ſubject, but I muſt mention curſorily, that every penſion which has been granted ſince the laſt change but one of adminiſtration, has been given to accommodate the friends of the preſent Miniſter; there has not been one ſhilling laid upon the public in any ſhape or form whatever, for the ſervice of any of the members of the late adminiſtration. Lord Shelburne's friends and connections have been the ſole and excluſive objects of all the pecuniary grants whatever, that have taken place in the interval alluded to. I do not ſay that ſome of theſe penſions have not been given to very reſpectable and conſiderable men.—I am moſt ſincerely of opinion that ſome of them were moſt juſtifiably beſtowed; but I am bound at the ſame time to affirm, that they were *all* given at *his* deſire to his particular friends.—I know but of three, and I could prove my aſſertion by a ſpecific mention of the individuals, if that were neceſſary.—Notwithſtanding this, I myſelf heard the noble Earl, in one ſpeech in the Houſe of Peers, and it has been, I believe, pretty correctly ſtated to me by friends, that he uſed ſimilar language in another on a ſubſequent day, not directly affirm, that is not his way, but ſtrongly inſinuate, that theſe penſions were not only beſtowed at the ſuggeſtion of the Marquis of Rockingham, but that they were the conditions of ſome

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contemptible compromiſes which never were heard of before, nor ever had an exiſtence but in the noble Earl's fancy. I have ſtill another reaſon for doubting his promiſes:—I heard him repeatedly declare in Parliament, when the nature of his ſituation ſeemed to call for ſome expoſition of his ſentiments, as to the important object of reform," "*that he would endeavour to ſupport* "*the ſyſtem of reform upon fair conſiderati-* "*ons, provided the opinion of mankind ſhould* "*appear to go with them.*"—He did not expreſs a direct approbation of the ſyſtem;—he does not like explicit avowals of his ſentiments,—he only promiſed a kind of conditional ſupport, *provided the opinions of mankind appeared to go with them.* Why, he could not ſay leſs, no man could have ſaid leſs—If the general opinions of the public went that way, he was obliged to acquieſce; this does not amount to a ſpecific declaration of his own deſigns or wiſhes—he has not in any ſpeeeh I have ever ſeen or heard of expreſſed any ſuch direct opinion, but has ſoothed the ear of the public with a general equivocal inſinuation upon this great point, without any meaning at all. Not ſo the Duke of Richmond—he has made an explicit poſitive declaration upon the ſubject, which if he does not adhere to, I ſhall be more miſtaken than ever I was at any thing in the world, and more ſhaken in my opinions of mankind than ever I was in my life.

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There does not exiſt a man of more ſteady principles, nor more ſacredly obſervant of his promiſes than the Duke of Richmond; no man forms a better opinion, and there lives not an individual who more faithfully adheres to all his engagements—There is one danger, Gentlemen, againſt which I muſt take the liberty to warn you, and which appears ſo much the more formidable to me as coming under a very ſpecious ſhape indeed. You are told that if you once get a proper parliamentary repreſentation, you have got all you have to wiſh for; this, Gentlemen, is not true, you are deceived when you are told ſo. It is moſt undoubted, that when you have got a proper parliamentary repreſentation, you have got a good mean and an excellent inſtrument, but it is ſtill neceſſary that you ſhould attend to the uſe of that inſtrument, and watch vigilantly that it be placed in proper hands. In all monarchies, and perhaps in mixed monarchies particularly, the executive power ought to be carefully obſerved, and the utmoſt diligence exerted, that the immediate power which governs you is not only capable from talents, but proper from integrity and firmneſs, to exerciſe ſuch an employment. Gentlemen, no equality of repreſentation, no alteration in the duration of Parliament, no conſtitution upon paper or practice of any kind whatever, can preſerve the juſt and natural conſequence of this country, if the executive government

is not lodged with able and honeſt hands. I wiſh you to have a true, general, conſtitutional Parliament, not that when you have got it, you may go to ſleep and repoſe yourſelves, as if in entire ſecurity—not that you ſhould be careleſs or inattentive to the government of your country; but for quite contrary purpoſes; that when you have got the juſt and powerful inſtrument in your hands of a pure and honeſt Parliament, you may make uſe of it for conſtitutional purpoſes for watching over the executive as well as the legiſlative government of your country, ſo as that your intereſt abroad and ſecurity at home, be ſecured upon the ſureſt of all foundations, the vigilance of the people diſplayed through a conſtitutional medium. All the misfortunes which have befallen this country, have originated principally in the want of due and general attention to this principle. The ſyſtem has been to divide men againſt men, to ſeperate the force of each of them, and to ſubvert the foundations of reciprocal confidence.

Theſe are the practices which have exiſted! that they may not be revived, I wiſh and imprecate; I may be miſtaken, but when I ſee the ſame ſtandard reared again, under the banners of which ſo many calamitous conſequences have ariſen to this country, I thought it my duty to light the beacon to my conſtituents by quitting a ſituation which I liked perſonally, which was

advantageous to me, and as convenient to my circumſtances as flattering to that vanity which perhaps inheres more or leſs in all men, but which I felt in my conſcience I could not keep without becoming an accomplice in the deluſion which I ſaw preparing againſt my fellow-ſubjects. If I have foreſeen theſe firſt ſymptoms of danger ſooner than other people, it is not becauſe I poſſeſs more penetration than my neighbours, but becauſe I have been placed in circumſtances better calculated for ſupplying me with information upon theſe ſubjects; becauſe I have had a nearer inſpection, and am in poſſeſſion of more facts, with a truer key to their fair and proper conſtruction, than other individuals have had. All I wiſh of you is this, if you ſhould find my preſages juſtified by the event, then I hope you will do juſtice to the ſincerity of my feelings, and the veracity of my aſſertions: if they are not confirmed by the event, I ſhall ſubmit myſelf contentedly to your ſeverity, and acknowledge myſelf the wretch which your authoriſed indignation will doubtleſs paint me.

I have been accuſed of betraying Cabinet ſecrets. Do the perſons who advance this abſurd and groundleſs charge, recollect that not one ſyllable has fallen from me upon any occaſion, that in any reſpect affects the State, or the ſecrets of the Cabinet, but which has tranſpired in other ſituations, and has been mentioned by the Duke of Richmond, Lord Keppel,

Keppel, Lord John Cavendiſh, General Conway, and the Earl of Shelburne. Do the advocates for this noble Earl condemn me for the very conduct which they excuſe or approve in him? or do the eſteem it an advantage in him to participate, even in the guilt of ſome men? Theſe are but aukward compliments, if they are intended as ſuch; but the fact is, the whole charge is abſurd and trifleing; and in this inſtance, therefore, I ſhall do more juſtice to the character of the noble Earl than his immediate partizans have done by their ſilly patronage of ſo ill-founded an accuſation.

Gentlemen, Dr. Jebb, has expreſſed his opinion to you, with reſpect to the independence of America, in a very clear and demonſtrative manner. I entirely concur with that worthy gentleman on this ſubject and moſt ſincerely think that the independence of America, is not only a meaſure abſolutely neceſſary for the political ſalvation of this country, but in itſelf conſidered in the abſtract, a juſt, wiſe, and equitable meaſure. Some people repreſent this opinion as a humiliating, abject opinion. I think quite the contrary; that which contributes to the preſervation of a ſtate, already at the verge of ruin, cannot, in a political view be mean;—that, which reſtores freedom to a brave and generous people cannot, in any view, be abject. Without a complete, unconditional acknowledge-

ment of American independence this country can have no ſafety; and why, therefore, ſhould we deſtroy the effect of a neceſſary meaſure by an ungracious mode of performing it. They are Engliſhmen,—they have Engliſh habits,—Engliſh feelings;—let us do with them as we did with Ireland, and I doubt not the ſame effects will follow. Had we bargained with the people of Ireland, inſtead of granting them liberally what they had an honeſt right to, I am convinced we ſhould not at this time have had that country for our friend; they aſked for rights,—we ſaid in reply, take them, they are your's—nature gave you them—we hang no conditions about the neck of juſtice—we truſt to your generoſity, and rely upon your affection. What was the conſequence?—they felt the manly ſincerity of this conduct as they ought;—that brave and loyal people, attached to this country from common habits and common feelings, and ſtimulated by the generous mode of giving them what they were perhaps before in poſſeſſion of, immediately ſet about giving ſome ſubſtantial indications of their gratitude, and agreed to furniſh this country with its beſt aſſiſtance, a large number of ſeamen. If affairs ſhould proceed in Ireland, as they have hitherto done, I maintain that that vote in Parliament, which granted to the Iriſh their juſt rights, and acknowledged their independence, was one of

of the moſt advantageous votes ever paſſed in the Britiſh Senate, and was a vote for an immediate ſupply of ten ſail of the line —A generous, enlightened people, formed, as I ſaid before, with Engliſh principles, and actuated by Engliſh prejudices, were ſure to act like Engliſhmen when they were treated with generoſity and kindneſs. —If you had ſtipulated and bargained with them—if you had put the poſſeſſion of their natural privileges upon contingencies, upon conditions, I firmly believe, this ſupply of ſeamen would never have been obtained, and Ireland would have remained at this day, not as a part of the ſtrength, but of the weakneſs of this country. This is the plan of broad, juſt, liberal politics that I always wiſh to ſee obſerved through every part of the Britiſh empire; this is the way to treat with Engliſhmen—to conciliate their affections, and to diſpoſe them to peace; they abhor bargaining when liberty is the object of the ſtipulation;—they will not reſign the ninth part of a hair in a bargain, but will give *themſelves*, if treated with candour, fairneſs, and ſincerity. If this conduct proved ſo efficacious in Ireland, why ſhould we not hope it would prove equally powerful in America? The Americans have the ſame principles, the ſame paſſions, the ſame conſtitution, the ſame nature; and I have no doubt, if his Majeſty's Miniſters ſhould think proper to adopt my ſentiments now that I am out of office,

office, a ſolid, permanent, and advantageous treaty may ſtill be formed with that country: but then it muſt have juſtice in its principle, and liberality in the tenor of its formation. I wiſh, with all poſſible ſincerity, that they may purſue this plan—if they do not, I fear peace is very remote indeed. What will then be our ſituation?—an indiſpoſition for peace, at leaſt for the only principle upon which peace can be had, and an inability for war. Our reſources are certainly much diminiſhed; and if they were to be employed againſt our brethren in America, I am not certain that I ſhould rejoice much in perceiving the means of ſuch a bloodſhed much multiplied.

The noble earl at the head of the Treaſury has ſaid, that if the independence of America ſhould be granted during the exiſtence of his adminiſtration, and he profeſſed himſelf of opinion that it ſhould, the ſplendour of this country would be gone, its ſun would be ſet, and his government would take place in the *twilight* of the empire. I ſhall not comment upon the reluctance which this ſtyle of ſpeaking implies in the noble Earl, as to this great and neceſſary object; but cannot help obſerving that the noble Earl's terms appear to me the beſt and moſt appoſite to his ſituation that were ever uſed on any occaſion.—He was aware that his adminiſtration was not calcu-

calculated for the light of day; he feared that ſomething between light and darkneſs would be wanted in it—An involuntary conſciouſneſs convinced him, that a glimmering half-light was full as much as his government could wiſely be expoſed to—that it would, notwithſtanding, be as much illumed by the *light* of promiſe as *darkened* by the gloom of diſtreſs; and, therefore, that it would literally be an Adminiſtration between light and darkneſs, or as his Lordſhip emphatically called it, a political twilight.

Gentlemen, I have nothing farther to ſay, than to thank you once more for the conſtant and unremitting teſtimonies which you have given me of your entire approbation of my conduct. I have had the honour of ſerving his Majeſty three months—a ſhort period—but yet, perhaps, long enough to operate as a trial of my integrity: if, during that interval, you know of any inſtance wherein I have forſaken my old principles—wherein I have held one language out of office, and another in it, with reſpect either to perſons or things, then think me a double man, and deſpiſe me. If, on the contrary, you find my conduct has been marked by an indefatigable exertion to do every thing in my power for the intereſt of this country in general, and yours in particular; if you ſhould find, upon

upon the cloſeſt ſcrutiny, that this has been the ſole and anxious aim of my ſhort miniſterial exiſtence, I ſhall then hope, that whatever may be your opinion of my abilities, you will at leaſt give credit to my intentions, and ſubſcribe to my ſincerity.

Gentlemen, I am obliged to trouble you with one word farther on a ſubject that had eſcaped me, and that is, reſpecting my very worthy colleague, Sir Cecil Wray. I have had the honour of a letter from him, wherein he requeſts me to take this opportunity of aſſuring you, that he entirely, and in the ſtrongeſt maoner. approves of every part of my conduct; and that his opinions, with reſpect to America in particular, exactly accord with my own, as I flatter myſelf yours do alſo. He farther aſſures me, that his opinions upon that ſubject are ſo firmly eſtabliſhed that they muſt continue to be his ſentiments through life.

Gentlemen, you have not had a long opportunity of experiencing the integrity and ability of my worthy colleague;—but you will permit me to ſay, who know him, that the longer he continues your member, the more will he approve himſelf an upright, able, independent ſenator, and an honeſt man.

FINIS.